

Message Text

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EUR/RPM:LBRECKON
L/PM:MMATHESON
ACDA/ISP:MHUMPHREYS
ACDA/NP:LWATSON
ACDA/NP:DRUST
ACDA/WEC:ACAHN
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SUBJECT:REPLY TO UNSYG ON REGIONAL ASPECTS OF DISARMAMENT

1. SYG'S NOTE PO I32 OF JANUARY 4 ASKED FOR USG VIEWS CONCERNING REGIONAL ASPECTS OF DISARMAMENT, PURSUANT TO UNGA RESOLUTION 32/87-D (SPONSORED BY BELGIUM). MISSION IS REQUESTED TO PASS FOLLOWING REPLY, SUPPLYING COMPLIMENTARY OPENING AND CLOSING AS APPROPRIATE.

2. BEGIN TEXT. IN CONSIDERING THE QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL STABILITY AND CONFIDENCE, IT SEEMS CLEAR TO THE USG THAT FOR THE GREAT MAJORITY OF NATIONS THE NEED FOR MILITARY PREPAREDNESS IS PRIMARILY BASED ON RELATIONSHIPS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND WITH OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE SAME GENERAL AREA. THUS REGIONAL APPROACHES TO DISARMAMENT COULD BE OF EXCEPTIONAL VALUE, SINCE RELIABLE ARMS CONTROL MEASURES AGREED ON BY THE COUNTRIES OF A GIVEN REGION CAN BE COUNTED ON TO ENHANCE THE SECURITY OF ALL.

HOWEVER, LIKE ALL OTHER COOPERATIVE ENDEAVORS AFFECTING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, REGIONAL DISARMAMENT MEASURES REQUIRE THE CONSENT OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED, AND BIND ONLY THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH CONSENT. PARTICULAR MEASURES CANNOT BE IMPOSED BY ONE COUNTRY OR GROUP OF COUNTRIES IN A REGION, ACTING AGAINST ANOTHER COUNTRY OR GROUP OF COUNTRIES; NEITHER CAN THEY BE IMPOSED BY PRESSURES EMANATING FROM OUTSIDE THE REGION.

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REGION. NOR CAN A REGIONAL GROUP OF COUNTRIES, ADDRESSING AREAS NOT WITHIN THEIR SOVEREIGN JURISDICTION, ADOPT MEASURES WHICH RESTRICT OR REGULATE THE RIGHTS OF OTHER NATIONS UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW. (FYI. WE HAVE INCLUDED THE IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING SENTENCE BECAUSE OF THE EXISTENCE OF PROPOSALS -- E.G., INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE, MEDITERRANEAN PEACE ZONE -- FOR LITTORAL STATES TO ADOPT LEGAL INSTRUMENTS PURPORTING TO RESTRICT FREE NAVIGATION ON THE HIGH SEAS. END FYI.)

FOREMOST AMONG EXISTING REGIONAL INITIATIVES IS THE AGENCY FOR THE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN LATIN AMERICA, ESTABLISHED BY THE TREATY OF TLAHELCO. FOR ITS PART, THE USG RATIFIED PROTOCOL II TO THE TREATY IN 1971 AND HAS ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO PROCEED TOWARD THE RATIFICATION OF PROTOCOL I. FURTHER, THE USG HOPES THAT THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED WILL SOON TAKE ALL THE OTHER ACTIONS WHICH ARE REQUIRED FOR THE TREATY'S ENTRY INTO FULL FORCE, AND THAT NATIONS OF OTHER REGIONS WILL DEVISE APPROPRIATE NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONE ARRANGEMENTS OF THEIR OWN. IN THIS CONNECTION THE USG WOULD WELCOME THE BEGINNING OF CONSULTATIONS NECESSARY TO CREATE SUCH

ZONES IN AFRICA, IN SOUTH ASIA, AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AS CALLED FOR IN A NUMBER OF RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

THE REGIONAL APPROACH CAN HAVE PARTICULAR VALUE IN THE NEGOTIATION OF FORCE-REDUCTION AGREEMENTS. IN PARTICULAR, THE MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE-REDUCTION TALKS IN VIENNA ARE A PRIME EXAMPLE OF EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE SUCH ACCORDS.

AS A PRELUDE TO FORCE REDUCTIONS, REGIONAL NEGOTIATIONS CAN BE USEFUL IN CONCLUDING AGREEMENTS TO STABILIZE MILITARY FORCES. STABILIZATION MEASURES CAN ALSO BE WORTHWHILE IN REGULATING CERTAIN KINDS OF MIL-

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ITARY ACTIONS (E.G., MANEUVERS INVOLVING MORE THAN A SPECIFIED NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS OR CONDUCTED WITHIN A CERTAIN DISTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES) WHICH ARE SOMETIMES CONSIDERED TO GIVE CAUSE FOR CONCERN.

PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE DURING THE INTERVAL SINCE THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE SUGGESTS THAT CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES ARE ALSO WELL SUITED TO THE REGIONAL APPROACH. APPROPRIATE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES CAN INCLUDE PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MANEUVERS AND TROOP MOVEMENTS AND THE PRESENCE OF OBSERVERS, EXCHANGES OF MILITARY PERSONNEL DESIGNED TO PROMOTE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, AND PUBLICATION OF RELEVANT MILITARY INFORMATION. IN THE SHORT RUN, SUCH MEASURES INCREASE UNDERSTANDING OF THE NATURE AND PURPOSES OF MILITARY ACTIVITY IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES; IN THE LONG RUN, SUCH MEASURES CAN BUILD A SENSE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE LEADING TO REDUCTIONS IN THE SIZE OF REGIONAL MILITARY FORCES OR EXPENDITURES.

ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO PREJUDGE THE OUTCOME OF THE INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION, REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE MAY PROVE DESIRABLE. SUCH ARRANGEMENTS COULD ENSURE APPROPRIATE ACCESS TO NUCLEAR MATERIAL FOR USE IN POWER-GENERATING REACTORS, AND COULD ALSO BE EFFECTIVE IN ALLEVIATING THE CONCERNS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WITH REGARD TO THE POSSIBLE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS TO ADDITIONAL COUNTRIES. THE USG WOULD HOPE THAT THESE POSSIBILITIES WILL RECEIVE APPROPRIATE CONSIDERATION IN THE STUDIES CONDUCTED AS PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION.

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LIMITATIONS ON THE INTERNATIONAL TRANSFER OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS SEEM PARTICULARLY WELL SUITED TO REGIONAL APPROACHES. IN FORMULATING SUCH LIMITATIONS IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD TO BE GUIDED BY TWO BROAD PRINCIPLES:

-- ALL STATES HAVE LEGITIMATE SECURITY REQUIREMENTS AND THESE MUST BE MET.

-- PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING AGREEMENTS TO REGULATE INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS SHOULD BE A MUTUAL CONCERN OF BOTH PRODUCER AND PURCHASER NATIONS, AND SUCCESSFUL SOLUTIONS MUST REFLECT THE IDEAS AND INTERESTS OF BOTH GROUPS.

WITH THESE GUIDELINES IN MIND, THE USG WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO THE CREATION OF REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS OF PURCHASER NATIONS, WHICH WOULD OPERATE IN COOPERATION WITH SUPPLIER NATIONS AND WHICH WOULD SEEK TO REDUCE THE RESOURCES DEVOTED TO UNNECESSARY COMPETITION IN PURCHASING ARMS.

ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR INCREASING INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENCE AND STABILITY WOULD BE TO CONCLUDE REGIONAL AGREEMENTS LIMITING MILITARY EXPENDITURES OF PARTICIPATING STATES. GIVEN THE PROSPECT OF RELIABLE MEANS FOR MEASURING AND REPORTING MILITARY EXPENDITURES, FLOWING FROM THE WORK OF SEVERAL AD HOC GROUPS OF BUDGETARY EXPERTS THAT HAVE REPORTED TO THE UNSYG, IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR COUNTRIES IN A REGION TO ENTER INTO BUDGET LIMITATION AGREEMENTS WHICH ENHANCE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND WHICH ALSO AUGMENT THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO GOVERNMENTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROMOTING INCREASED ECONOMIC GROWTH.

BUT IT IS IN THE AREA OF REDUCING TENSIONS -- OF REPLACING FEAR WITH CONFIDENCE, REPLACING ANCIENT ANIMOSITIES

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WITH A NEW CORDIALITY -- THAT REGIONAL APPROACHES SHOW THEIR PARTICULAR MERIT. FOR IT IS NECESSARY FOR ALL STATES, NOT JUST THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PROCESS OF BALANCING THEIR DESIRES FOR SECURITY THROUGH ARMAMENTS AGAINST THE ADVANTAGES OF MUTUAL RESTRAINTS. AND THE POLICY-MAKERS OF ALL NATIONS MUST ENERGETICALLY STRIVE TO TURN

AWAY FROM THE POSSIBILITY OF ARMED CONFLICT IN SEEKING
TO RESOLVE INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, TOWARD THE MORE IN-
TENSIVE AND MORE FRUITFUL USE OF PEACEFUL MEANS. ALL
TYPES OF REGIONAL DISARMAMENT ACCORDS FAVOR THESE ENDS,
FOR THEY ENHANCE THE TIES OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION
AMONG NEIGHBORS, REDUCING THE DISPOSITION TO STRIKE OUT
IN ANGER. END TEXT. VANCE

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